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## DELIVERABLE 7.7

# Report on integration of feelings of insecurity within European Security Audit





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DELIVERABLE 7.7

# Report on integration of feelings of insecurity within European Security Audit

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## Table of Contents

1	Introduction.....	5
2	Methodology .....	8
3	Background to the ESA.....	9
	3.1 <i>Development of the Efus Local Safety Audit</i> .....	9
	3.2 <i>Adopting a strategic approach</i> .....	9
	3.3 <i>Detailing the Safety Audit</i> .....	10
	3.4 <i>New tools and methods</i> .....	11
	3.5 <i>Emphasising the participative</i> .....	11
	3.6 <i>Feelings of insecurity as an additional indicator of the urban security situation</i> .....	12
4	CCI development of the Efus European Security.....	13
	4.1 <i>Synergies with CCI</i> .....	13
	4.2 <i>Understanding citizens' feelings of insecurity</i> .....	13
	4.3 <i>Conceptualising feelings of insecurity</i> .....	13
	4.4 <i>CCI development of the European Safety Audit</i> .....	14
5	The next generation of the European Safety Audit.....	15
	5.1 <i>Strategic approach</i> .....	15
	5.2 <i>The Safety AUDIT</i> .....	15
	5.3 <i>Main additions to integrate feelings of insecurity</i> .....	16
	5.4 <i>Revised guidance</i> .....	17
6	References.....	18
7	Appendices .....	19
	7.1 <i>Victimisation surveys</i> .....	19
	7.2 <i>The CCI approach</i> .....	20

# 1 Introduction

Increased feelings of insecurity by citizens is a serious side-effect of high impact petty crime. Work package 7 has undertaken research, identified scenarios of use, generated design concepts and developed specifications for PIM Tools related to measuring and mitigating citizens' feelings of insecurity in two LEA contexts:

- Catalonia, Spain (INT)
- Lower Saxony, Germany (LKA)

The process of USAL working together with the LEAs has revealed that:

- LEAs are often made responsible for and expected to consider citizens' feelings of insecurity. Though this phenomenon is complex, with multiple causal factors, it is usually framed in terms of the experience of crime victimisation. Indeed, the feeling of insecurity is often conflated with crime victimisation
- This is problematic, as feelings of insecurity may be generated by a wide range of factors – many of which are unrelated to actual experience of crime / victimisation
- Feelings of insecurity are often measured by survey questions, frequently included within victimisation surveys. This approach has been criticised leading to a construction of insecurity as a wide problem impacting entire populations.
- LEAs frequently need to collaborate with other agencies in tackling feelings of insecurity in specific locations or contexts. However, data generated from large scale quantitative surveys is generally unhelpful for understanding insecurity issues at the specific local / community / situational level.

The work of RUG revealed a number of ethical, legal and social issues related to the measurement of feelings of insecurity.

- Measuring and mitigating citizens feelings of insecurity is linked to wider discussions around proactive action and state-society relationship. It is closely linked to confidence and trust in the state, in its institutions and in communities. All of these objectives promote social cohesion which is essential for the success of the work of law enforcement agencies (LEAs).
- While police forces take a reactive (ex-post) approach when reacting to a rise or fall in crime statistics, measuring and mitigating feelings of insecurity constitutes a proactive (ex-ante) approach that already shapes the environment before crime is committed. In states with liberal societies based on the autonomy of the individual this can create significant tensions.

- Ethical concerns relate to the veracity and versatility of surveys, the choice of data sources and methods of interpretation, as well as the risks associated with mitigation of crime based on public perceptions.
- Whereas the Cutting Crime Impact (CCI) state-of-the-art review focuses very much on the design and deployment of large-scale surveys, one might consider such an approach as too strongly rooted in traditional paradigms of data collection, storage and interpretation. A review of the landscape of digital tools available to record feelings of insecurity reveals a large amount and variety of applications already available for digital devices in many regions of the world.
- Legal issues relate to privacy and data protection during the data collection, processing, storage and analysis process. Furthermore, individual and group autonomy need to be guaranteed in compliance with regulation and human rights principles.
- Social issues relate to the topic of handling equality and acknowledging differences of individuals and communities, as well as finding legitimate strategies allowing to transfer empirical insights into normative action.

RUG recommends: (i) continuously improving methodologies to measure feelings of insecurity; and (ii) simultaneously exploring sophisticated ways of communicating the results. This will to actively shape the shift towards digitalisation, and at the same time maintain a trustworthy relationship with citizens on the basis of respect for human rights, individual and group autonomy.

In conclusion, it can be stated that one of the main challenges of developing this area is to remain a human focus (with the intention to design methods creating a better life for the individual and the community), while making progress in standardisation and empirical processing of the data relating to feelings of insecurity.

### What is the European Security Audit?

European Safety Audit (ESA) is a process of analysis undertaken by local authorities to understand problems related to crime and victimisation within the city. The ESA was initiated by the European Forum for Urban (Efus). The approach has evolved over the last decade, but the primary aim of the process is to enable local authorities: (i) to determine the stakeholders' vision for their city; (ii) to collect information about the experiences of local citizens', identify their expectations and evaluate their feelings; (iii) to enable priorities to be identified; (iv) to support development of a strategy that will enable those priorities to be tackled; and (vi) to identifying assets and resources for preventive activity.

The insights, concepts and learning generated for PIM Toolkit 4 have been integrated within the EFUS Security Audit for policymakers across Europe. The aim is to:

- (i) Increase sophistication of the existing EFUS Security Audit tool for local authority policymakers first published in 2009; and
- (ii) Support improved partnership working.

This research and development work builds on the EU-project “AUDITS: Methodological tools for the drafting of local security policies in Europe”.

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## 2 Methodology

The integration of feelings of insecurity within the European Security Audit involved the following activities:

- Critical review of developed PIM Toolkit against European Security Audit content, criteria and methodology
- Identification of overlaps, gaps and potential synergies
- Identification of appropriate integration methods with regard to the requirement for practical delivery of European Security Audit (i.e. feasibility and fitness for purpose)
- Development of draft updated / extended European Security Audit.

This Report (deliverable D7.6) contains a draft of the updated European Security Audit. This is being validated with consortium partners and relevant stakeholders via email, telephone and video call interviews. RUG is providing additional input on relevant ethical, legal and social issues.

Together with USAL and LOBA, Efus will develop communication materials to raise awareness of the revised European Security Audit, promote its use and support its implementation by security policymakers across Europe.



## 3 Background to the ESA

### 3.1 Development of the Efus Local Safety Audit

Gaining a clear picture of the security situation in a city is a crucial prerequisite to the development and implementation of effective security policies. This requires that perceptions of security held by different demographic groups are properly understood and considered. The European Forum for Urban Security (Efus) has long promoted the importance of regional authorities adopting such an evidence-based approach — a consideration reflected in a number of the Forum's publications and projects.

The 2008 Efus publication "Guidance on Local Safety Audits: A Compendium of International Practice", first outlined the Forum's ambition to systematise evidence-based information collection in its projects and in the support it offers to its member cities. As a follow-up to the 2008 Compendium, and a reflection of the evolution of methodologies and focus areas during the previous decade, in 2016 Efus published Methods and Tools for a Strategic Approach to Urban Security. This publication embeds the Safety Audit within a larger conceptual framework — The Strategic Approach to Urban Security.

### 3.2 Adopting a strategic approach

The elements contained within the Strategic Approach to Urban Security are not new — nor is the approach itself. It is rather a framework comprising the different phases of developing and implementing a local security policy. The approach outlined by Efus initially comprised five elements (Efus, 2016):

- **The safety audit** – learning about, analysing and understanding elements of the local security situation
- **The strategy** – translating the findings of the audit into goals and objectives
- **The action** – defining an action plan and guaranteeing its efficient implementation
- **The evaluation** – assessing the implementation and the impact of the action
- **Mobilisation and participation** – engaging in a continuous effort to include all stakeholders and foster participative processes.

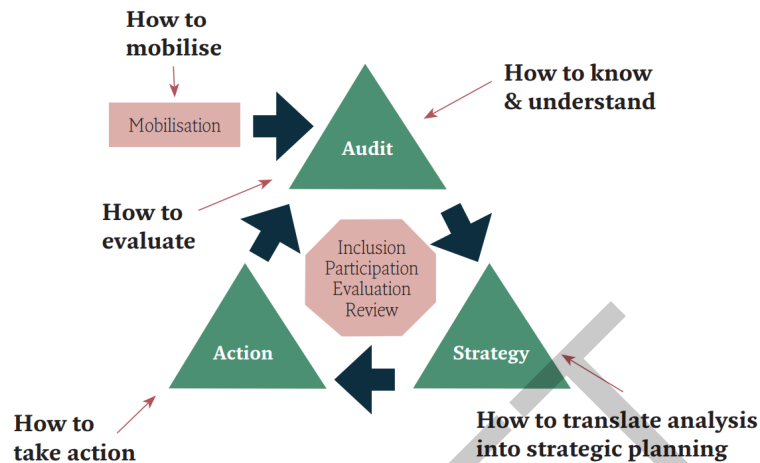


Figure 3.1. The Efus strategic approach to urban security (Efus, 2016)

This is not a linear process but rather a circular one that highlights the principles of inclusion, participation and evaluation.

A conceptual model building on the original Efus structure has been developed by CCI. This model detailing the strategic approach to security policy development and implementation — as well as indicating the support provided by Efus — is illustrated in Section 5.

### 3.3 Detailing the Safety Audit

The safety audit is a multi-stage process managed by a Steering Committee, comprising relevant city authority stakeholders, and an Audit Team made up of people with relevant areas of expertise. Such areas include research design, community engagement and statistical analysis. These two groups are complemented by associated stakeholders representing different interest groups within the city (e.g. community leaders, cultural group representatives, business group representatives, etc.).

The audit begins with an initial broad review of the local context — what is referred to by Efus as a "wide and shallow investigation". This enables an initial appraisal of problems and factors contributing to a city's level of crime and delinquency. The collected data is analysed and discussed by the Audit Team and the Steering Committee who, in consultation with the other stakeholders, decide on which problem areas to focus in the second stage of research. The second stage involves more in-depth research into the particular problems, places or groups of people that have been identified as requiring further investigation. This is described as the "narrow and deep investigation" stage of the Safety Audit.

Based on the finding from the research stage, intervention priorities are identified and translated into a security strategy. All stakeholders are further consulted, an action plan is elaborated, and an Audit Report is prepared (Efus, 2008).

The Efus Safety Audit has been reconceptualised and the terminology refined by CCI, as detailed in Section 5.

### 3.4 New tools and methods

Since the publication of "Methods and Tools for a Strategic Approach to Urban Security", Efus has continued to work on projects and partnerships that nourish its repertoire of tools and methods that support security actors at the local and regional level. The human-centred approach and design methodology employed by the Cutting Crime Impact (CCI) project inspired Efus to mobilize this knowledge and progress its strategic approach to Urban Security.

One of the key tenets of the CCI methodology is the focus on end-users — to investigate and understand their needs and requirements through direct engagement with them. In the case of CCI, the end users include law enforcement agencies (LEAs) and security policymakers. This human-centred approach involves the use of tools and methods tailored to exploring relevant contexts, gathering data and generating insight. These include observation (ethnography), focus groups, immersion, journaling and 'insta-ethnography', to name but a few.

In a world where the security challenges facing local and regional authorities are evolving, it is increasingly important to apply appropriate tools and methods that can provide relevant insight to inform appropriate action.

### 3.5 Emphasising the participative

Shifts in political governance, changes in economic climate, and technological advances provide both challenges to and opportunities for urban security. Citizen-led initiatives are growing in number, and public participation becoming the norm in the formulation and implementation of urban security policies. Too often, however, citizen participation is limited to a consultation role rather than true citizen co-production of urban security policy — often due to fears around implementation difficulties and unforeseen consequences. Such fears may deter municipalities from fostering public participation (Efus, 2016). In contrast, Efus seeks to embrace and champion true citizen engagement in security policy co-creation.

By multiplying sources of information and fostering an environment in which every group's lived reality and perception of urban security are taken into account, the Efus Safety Audit prepares the stage for the co-production of urban security policies that reflect the needs of inhabitants. Efus emphasises the inclusion of a diverse and representative range of stakeholders in the work of the

Steering Committee and the Audit Team as a first step towards such co-production. The involvement of civil society organisations can facilitate this — such as local security councils, youth clubs, minority or parent-teacher associations, to name but a few.

### 3.6 Feelings of insecurity as an additional indicator of the urban security situation

In its 2017 Manifesto, Efus committed to:

*"...Targeting underrepresented and marginalised types of victimisation, including violence against women and discriminatory violence, to ensure that our knowledge of such phenomena and the effective means of fighting these are improving."*

Efus, 2017, p.37.

In addition, addressing security challenges related to radicalisation and polarisation is also an objective. Some forms of crime and delinquency instil a stronger sense of 'crisis' than others, yet it is important to be aware that the main concern of citizens is usually day-to-day security and their feelings of safety. Feelings of insecurity not only have an impact on the individual but also on the collective wellbeing. As such, insecurity will inform a population's political and economic behaviour as well as their behaviour in, and use of, urban public spaces.

CCI reflects this understanding, with one of the project's four Focus Areas addressing the measurement and mitigation of citizens' feelings on insecurity. Generally, victimisation surveys attempt to measure the level of fear of crime in a population by asking respondents how worried they are about different crime types. CCI research argues that the conceptual formulation of "fear of crime" is problematic, being an umbrella term that includes a range of emotional reactions and cognitive processes. For example, fear of crime victimisation is conflated with more abstract concerns or anxieties about non-crime-related issues. Thus, asking questions using the label "fear of crime" may obscure the true nature and impact of citizens' subjective experience of urban insecurity.

## 4 CCI development of the Efus European Security

### 4.1 Synergies with CCI

The ESA considers safety from a situational or contextual perspective at two levels:

- (i) At the level of the city or municipal area; and
- (ii) At the more focused level of a specific community, situation, or theme.

The importance of understanding and addressing urban security at these two different levels was confirmed by the CCI project.

CCI research revealed that LEAs have information about crime incidents at both the city and local level. When it comes to citizens' feelings of insecurity, however, information is generally collected from victimisation surveys and does not necessarily provide information about a specific situation or community. The work of two LEA partners, INT and LKA, will develop tools and methods to understand citizens' feelings of insecurity in relation to a specific community or situation.

### 4.2 Understanding citizens' feelings of insecurity

Currently the European Security Audit does not directly address citizens' feelings of insecurity. Nor does it recommend methodologies to support appropriate data collection to better understand this complex phenomenon.

Efus is particularly interested in research methods developed by the Cutting Crime Impact (CCI) project to collect information on issues related to urban security.

Furthermore, Efus anticipates the updated European Security Audit will be informed by ongoing activities to prototype and demonstrate LEA tools to measure and mitigate citizens' feelings of insecurity.

### 4.3 Conceptualising feelings of insecurity

The Design Against Crime Solution Centre at the University of Salford has developed a conceptual framework that aims to operationalise feelings of insecurity — the different facets of worry, anxiety, and fear impacting the lived experience. It recognises that feelings of insecurity often arise without

any actual victimisation or threat. The 'Feelings of Unsafety' model includes individual perspectives on unsafety — from 'assumed situational vulnerability', 'situational anxiety', and 'fear' in the face of immediate threat. It includes two facets arising after crime victimisation — immediate 'shock, anger and distress' and the medium to longer-term processes of dealing with victimisation. Finally, completing the cycle is the rationalisation of the experience that leads to an individual's 'modified perspective'. This process feeds into the 'background context' as individual experiences are shared with family members, friends and neighbours and this in turn informs wider societal concerns, anxieties and political priorities. In this way, the model seeks to illustrate how the 'background context' for feelings of unsafety both nourishes and is nourished by individual experience. Identifying this conceptual structure is important for measuring feelings of insecurity in a way that can provide actionable understanding — particularly in relation to specific demographic groups and situations. Understanding the different factors that shape 'insecurity' is fundamental to the generation of effective strategies for mitigating their impact (Davey and Wootton, 2019).

The revised edition of the Efus Safety AUDIT developed by CCI will include methods and tools employed by project partners to understand, measure and mitigate feelings of insecurity. Their experiences give shape to the conceptual framework developed by CCI researchers and highlight the importance of taking feelings of insecurity into account when drawing up a prevention and security strategy. The tools used by Lower Saxony and the department of interior of Catalonia include surveys designed to specifically measure particular aspects of insecurity and participative methods such as 'exploratory walks' that foster the active collaboration of local people. Inspired by the lessons learned during the CCI project, the Efus Safety Audit guide will support local and regional authorities in gaining a holistic understanding of the security situation in their cities and make the process of information collection more effective, inclusive and representative.

#### 4.4 CCI development of the European Safety Audit

The European Security Audit currently takes the form of a report. Tools to promote and support its uptake, delivery and evaluation have not yet been developed. Consequently, CCI has dedicated resources to understanding how the European Security Audit is currently implemented by Efus and the process by which it is used. The work of the CCI project has enabled revision of the European Security Audit approach and has created the next generation of what is now termed the **Efus European Safety Audit**.

# 5 The next generation of the European Safety Audit

## 5.1 Strategic approach

A conceptual model building on the original Efus structure has been developed by CCI. This model detailing the strategic approach to security policy development and implementation — as well as indicating the advice and support provided by Efus — is illustrated in Figure 5.1, below.

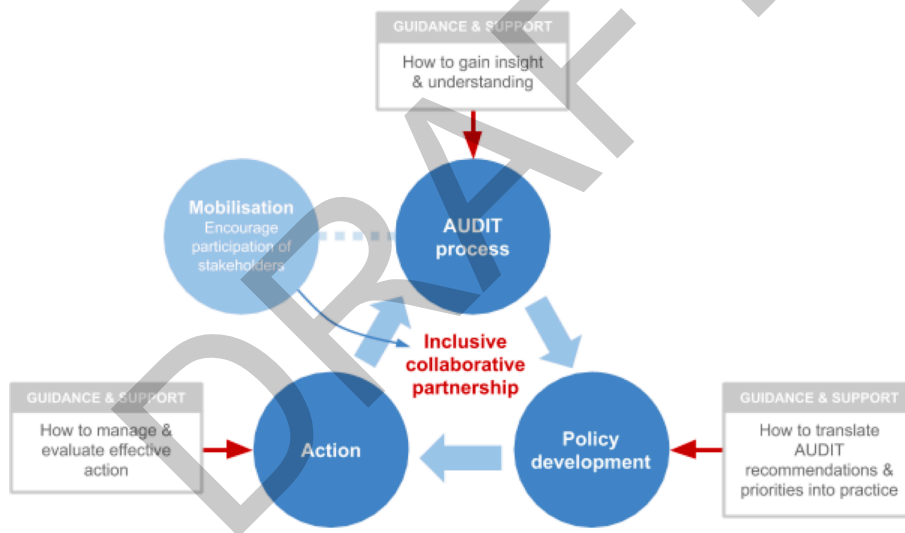


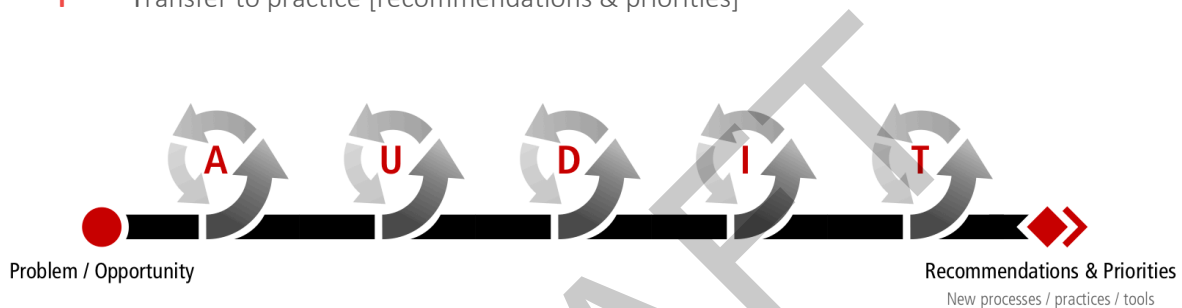
Figure 5.1. The Efus strategic approach to security policy development and implementation

## 5.2 The Safety AUDIT

Efus have adopted a revised model for the audit part of the process developed by the University of Salford (Wootton & Davey, USAL) — see Figure 5.1, below.

### Process stages

- A** – Appreciate the context
- U** – Understand the priorities
- D** – Dig deep and explore
- I** – Inspect, analyse and interpret [the development of insight]
- T** – Transfer to practice [recommendations & priorities]



*Figure 5.2. The revised Efus Safety AUDIT process*

## 5.3 Main additions to integrate feelings of insecurity

The revised Efus Security AUDIT now includes consideration of citizens' feelings of insecurity in the first three stages — "Appreciating the context," "Understanding the priorities," and "Dig deep and explore."

Specifically the following methodologies have been added:

- **The CCI 'Stick to the Map' Tool**, developed for use by LKA to map citizens' urban experience  
This method uses a form of cognitive mapping. Rather than physically taking a walk in an area, cognitive mapping relies on participants' knowledge and memories of their experiences in an area. Participants are asked to 'mentally map' an urban space and recall emotional responses to the situational context. This information is recorded on the map using stickers representing different issues. Avoidance mapping asks people, for example, to recall the spaces they avoid on a daily basis. This can provide insight on the intersections between the participants' demographics (i.e. race, gender and age) and their subjective experience of an urban space.
- **The CCI 'La Percepció importa' Tool**, developed for use by INT  
The Department of Interior of Catalonia had previously identified the existence of "Narcopisos" {abandoned apartments used as drug dens) in Barcelona as an important factor of perceived insecurity in certain neighbourhoods. The CCI Tool developed for use by INT includes a number of research methodologies for assessing citizens' feelings of unsafety — including short,



targeted surveys; focus groups; and observations. These methodologies are explained on a series of cards, which together form a compendium of data collection and analysis approaches. In addition, the Tool supports conducting 'site walkabouts' and observations to identify social, spatial and economic factors that further impact perceptions of security in neighbourhoods with "Narcopisos".

- 'Exploratory walks' method, as used by LKA and INT

One method that is used increasingly by LEA partners is the 'exploratory walk'. This involves a researcher from the AUDIT team accompanying inhabitants on a walk through an identified area. This method enables the identification of social, spatial, economic factors and local crime trends that influence citizens' perceptions of safety and security.

The methodology of these walks varies depending on the goal of the exercise. For example, it is possible to understand how different demographic groups react to the same area. The aim may be to explore specific emotional responses (such as anxiety, or enjoyment), in which case inhabitants select the area to explore and guide the walk. The walk may present the opportunity for semi-structured interviews to be held with participants (i.e. specific questions about participants' responses to situational factors). Alternatively, the researcher may gain insight by simply observing participants' reactions to their surroundings.

- Survey questions have been identified to identify feelings of insecurity related to specific situations, such as a train station.

## 5.4 Revised guidance

The contents of the ESA has been revised by Efus to include the following sections:

- Introduction
- Preparing the Safety Audit – *including putting together a steering committee and identifying key stakeholders*
- The Audit Process – *illustrated with the AUDIT model*
- Methods for conducting the Audit

## 6 References

Davey, C.L., & Wootton, A.B. (2014) "Crime and the Urban Environment: The Implications for Wellbeing", in Wellbeing. A Complete Reference Guide (Eds) Burton, R., Davies-Cooper, R. and Cooper, C. Wiley-Blackwell: Chichester (UK)

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Jackson, J. (2004) "Validating New Measures of the Fear of Crime", Int. J. Social Research Methodology Vol. 8, No. 4, Month 2005, pp. 1–19. Available at: <http://www.lse.ac.uk/socialPolicy/Researchcentresandgroups/mannheim/JonJackson/ValidatingNewMeasuresOfTheFearOfCrime.pdf>

## 7 Appendices

### 7.1 Victimisation surveys

LEAs are interested not only whether local citizens are safe—but also whether they feel safe. Victimisation surveys often include questions about citizens' attitudes towards the police and feelings of insecurity. Indeed, the victimisation survey is the most common mechanism for enabling questions of 'feeling of insecurity' to be posed to citizens across Europe.

The results of victimisation surveys are often used to compare reported feelings of insecurity with actual levels of victimisation. The resulting reports suggest that so-called 'fear of crime' is widespread and far outweighs the actual risk of crime victimisation. This seemingly irrational fear of crime has come to be regarded as a problem in its own right, and the focus of some European countries has been on tackling this perceived 'reassurance gap' (Jackson, 2004). However, the significance and indeed the existence of this 'gap' has been called into question.

Efforts have been made to redesign survey questions to more accurately identify whether feelings of insecurity actually impact on quality of life. This involves asking respondents to identify real instances of feeling afraid or threatened.

#### Feelings and functions in the fear of crime

##### *Applying a New Approach to Victimisation Insecurity*

Emily Gray, Jonathan Jackson and Stephen Farrall (2011) *The British Journal of Criminology*. Vol. 51, No. 1 (January 2011), pp. 75–94. Available from:

[https://www.jstor.org/stable/23640338?seq=1#page\\_scan\\_tab\\_contents](https://www.jstor.org/stable/23640338?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents)

Serious concerns have been raised about attempts to measure so-called "fear of crime" made by national victimisation surveys, such as the Crime Survey of England and Wales (CSEW). Farrell, Gray, and Jackson (2007) and Farrell, Jackson, and Gray (2006) suggest that standard methods employed in measuring feelings of insecurity may in actuality be constructing fear of crime as a significant social problem for a large proportion of the population. They suggest fear of crime may be an artefact of poor survey techniques, rather than a real quality-of-life issue accurately revealed by such research.

Farrell et al (2006) propose that "fear of crime," as a lived experience refers to a range of emotional reactions and cognitive processes. Impacting on quality of life are likely to be real moments of fear of victimisation, arising prior to or post-victimisation or due to threat of victimisation. The puncturing of mundane thoughts about security by sudden shock events that alert one to the possibility of crime

victimisation may impact negatively on quality of life. For example, hearing about family or friends that have been victimised or finding out that a location one frequents is a crime hotspot may generate genuine worry. The aforementioned examples are qualitatively different from nagging doubts about the security of one's home and property when left unattended or the awareness of crime as a possibility and the need for added precautions. Different again is the abstract set of feelings and attitudes about crime as a social problem or issue for society. The authors suggest that the impact on quality of life depends on the intensity and type of feeling and on its frequency.

## 7.2 The CCI approach

In light of the lack of a humanist-realist, conceptual formulation of 'feelings of insecurity' that can be easily applied to practical situations, USAL developed the **CCI Feelings of Unsafety Model** (see figure 8.1). This model aims to better operationalise the many different aspects of worry, anxiety, fear, and feelings of insecurity that relate to crime and human perceptions of risk.

### Humanist-realism

This is a movement in sociology that recognises the concept of human nature as being essential for sociology. A main proponent of the need for this approach is academic Terry Leahy, who criticises modern sociology:

*"If there is a crisis in the social sciences, it is squarely tied to this. As a critical discipline we cannot agree about where our criticism leads. What is worse, we do not even like to talk about this at our conferences, where it is much more pleasant to engage in critique and get on together as fellow members of the broad Left — without attacking each other's models of Utopia."*

Leahy (2016).

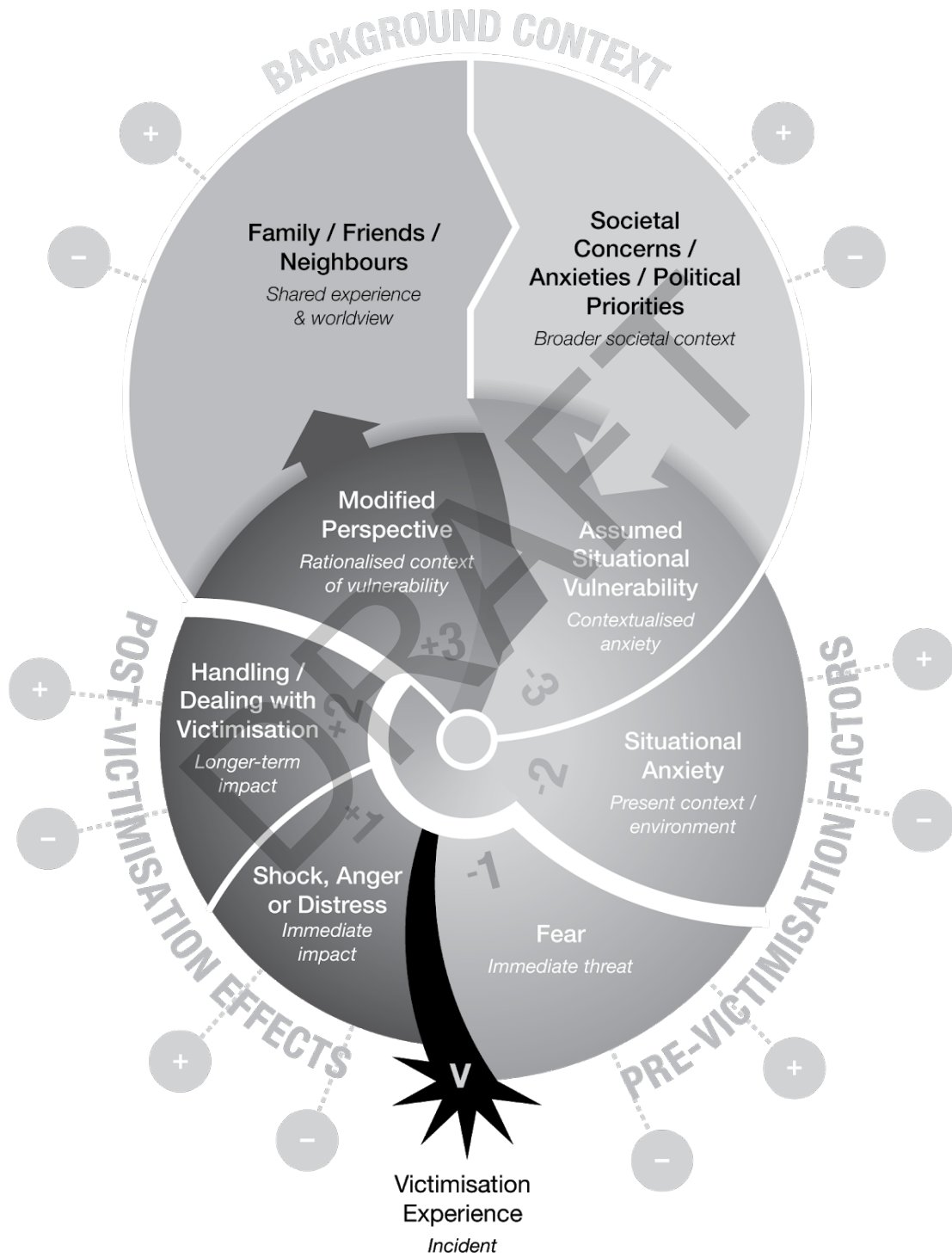


Figure 8.1. The CCI Feelings of Unsafety model

The CCI Feelings of Unsafety Model reserves the term ‘fear of crime’ for the situation immediately before victimisation, when an individual is aware of an immediate threat of victimisation. The model seeks to position feelings of insecurity in relation to actual victimisation, and other perceptions of anxiety or risk that may be experienced before this point. It is not assumed that all individuals will experience crime—or even an immediate threat of victimisation. Indeed, feelings of insecurity often arise without any actual victimisation or threat — based purely on an individual's perceptions of a situation. Clearly such individual perceptions will vary with demographics factors (young-old; male-female) but may also be affected by the experiences of familial and social groups — and shared stories about these.

Adapted from a model developed by Davey & Wootton (2014), the human centred CCI Feelings of Unsafety Model conceptualises the experience of insecurity from the perspective of the individual's experience: thoughts about a situation in anticipation; experience in a particular situation; experience during and after a threat or victimisation; and longer-term impact. The Model identifies (a) factors that may foster and/or mitigate feelings of insecurity; and (b) factors affecting the perceptions of different groups, including young people / older people, women, men and ethnic minorities — see [D7.2 Report on Feelings of insecurity – Concepts and models](#).



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